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SUPPLEMENT INSIDE

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FIELD MARSHAL GEORGE JACKSON ANALYZES THE CORRECT METHOD IN COMBATING AMERICAN FASCISM

The classical definition of Fascism brings to most people's minds the brute terror and repression of Nazi-Germany in the 1930's. To say that Fascism exists inside the U.S. today often brings forth many exclamations that it does not, because it does not look the same as then. If our struggle is to be waged for winning, we must properly analyze all phenomena, so that we can concretely act. There are those who cling to the old definitions of Fascism, the last ditch, openly violent maneuver of an imperialist country to maintain power. Fascism does exist, perhaps even in a more diabolical form, here in the U.S. If we do not recognize this, we cannot fight it. This past year's events make that condition even more clear.

Comrade George Jackson, our beloved Field Marshal, who was assassinated on August 21, 1971, by agents of Fascism at San Quentin, analyzed Fascism in America and its effect on our struggle to free ourselves. A review of 1971 and that analysis may help us to struggle better and harder this year. Below, we reprint the analysis, which first appeared in the September 4, 1971, issue of our paper:



A tape recording of the following statement, made by our fallen comrade, George Jackson, was played to the thousands who attended the revolutionary memorial services for our Field Marshal. We print it here for your close study.

The co-optation thing is a mechanism of the American brand of fascism. We have to understand that first. In essence, how it works is that each group, each social unit, larger than two, the powers-that-be will approach the element that's guiding that social unit, and attempt in some way - and we'll get possibilities, there are a thousand ways of approaching: playing on loyalties; or, let's say, the money thing, the money syndrome, we've had that trained into us from infancy; or they'll attempt to show us the futility of our actions; and then perhaps, if that doesn't work, they'll explain to us how actually our goals are the same as theirs and that they're not such bad guys after all. But it's worked. It's worked in the past. You've heard the stories, the tales about white America and the establishment not being able to deal with Black nationalism. Well they have been. They've built foundations, you know, the Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, and so forth. They bought them off. How do we stop those things from happening. As far as I'm concerned our dialectic, our intentions, our goals are so mutually exclusive to those of our opposition, that I can't see anywhere we can find anything to agree on. And, we have to stop it right from the beginning. In other words, no acceptance of tokens, none whatsoever, in the building of the People's world. We do it on our own. We do it with our own facilities. And to say that we can't do it, to say that we don't have the personnel, that we don't have the financial means is just like saying that producers can't produce, that breadmakers can't make bread. We don't need them. That's the whole point. So we stop them by barring them completely from our program.

We can't limit ourselves to any one particular form of struggle; but I'm saying that the people who are given the responsibility of deciding which facilities that we'll take and use for our own, for the building of the infrastructure, for our own, I think that these people should use extreme caution and always bear in mind that the underlying motive is tokenism, and at all times be - cynical. Take, yes; but, take it in the spirit of reparations, and reparations only.

We have a very, very, very touchy, fundamental problem; and, I think it begins with the ideal - I don't think we fully understand the period or stage that we're in right now, the stage of the struggle that we're in right now. The ideal situation, where each man can be a man, can be an individual - and I don't mean in the existentialist sense - where each man can be truly free, to make decisions on his own. Make decisions on his own, and from his own mind. We haven't reached that

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point yet; and it might be 2,000 years before we reach that point. Right now, at the present, to think that that thing is possible is verging on anarchy. And I seriously feel that the problem lies in the fact that we don't understand what Democratic Centralism means, and its function and its power, and its power to all of our movement. I really, seriously don't believe that anything can be accomplished without Democratic Centralism at this stage, because we've inherited things from thousands and thousands of years ago into our character, into our beings. In particular, we've inherited things over the last 300 years of capitalism and over the last few decades of fascism, corporativism. We've inherited things that disallow us from, let's say, egalitarian conduct. I think we have to recognize that, and understand that our movement has to be carried by, guided by disciplined and sincere, but organized, Democratic Centralism.

Power, in its essence, has a growth process, just like everything else. If we snatch that thing up out of its process and look at it as it WAS, we're looking at a thing that's dead. It's a thing in process, just like everything else. It goes through a state of infancy, maturity and then, of course, decline. The prestige of power at its maturity is a thing that will prevent people from acting against that power. This pig is a psychological thing, a state of being wherein the bourgeoisie reign of terror need not rely on violence to sustain itself. It's relying on something that happened in the past, or some accomplishment, or some, let's say, coup, that went down in the past, where it secured itself. And it's drifting at this point, the prestige of power means that it's drifting at this point and living off its laurels. At this stage, people just are not inclined to attack that power. So, consequently, our first attack is on the prestige of power. That was Jonathan's job, to destroy the prestige of power, the iconoclastic act of crushing symbols. Once these symbols are crushed, and people see that they are vulnerable, then we can move on to the actual destruction of the bases of power. Because power, after, after the destruction of the prestige of power, power will be forced to revert back to its original form, raw brute force - violence.

First of all, I'd like to clear up a couple of points in that area that have come up, criticisms of my particular analysis of fascism. First, I would like to state unequivocally that complete totalitarianism, the perfect totalitarian state is impossible. We've had 6,000 years of hierarchy; we've had 6,000 years of attempts, of men making attempts to place themselves above society. It's never worked; it's never worked. So, in essence, pure fascism, pure totalitarianism is impossible, first of all. Then I'd like to emphasize that fascism right from the beginning - and when I say beginning, I'm going all the way back to the point where monopoly capital first started its formation - the culmination of monopoly capital was the fascist corporative. And it took different forms in different countries; and those different forms were principally accountable to the differing national situations, the differing crises that the particular nations were facing; and, of course, the difference in time and place in history. And they each took a different form. In Spain, Falangism and the Spanish new state, that was one form; Italian fascism, that was one form; the Rumanian armed guard, that was one form; then, of course, the national socialism of Germany, that was another form altogether; Peronism, that was another form - that has to be examined very carefully, because there were several asides that altered it from the other forms that swept Europe. The principal difference between Peronism and the thing that Vargas pulled off in Brazil is that though both those countries were under the influence, the sphere of influence of the United States, and, in effect, they were really neo-colonies and had been ever since the Monroe Doctrine - actually their (Argentina's Peronism) particular brand of fascism was in a way (this is a very abstract and complicated question) - this particular form tended to mirror the same thing that went down here in this country. Peron disguised his particular fascism almost as a benefit to the workers. I mean and disguised it more so than the thing in Germany. The thing in Germany was outright slavery. It was like, as far as I'm concerned, my reading of history, it looked like almost a reversion to the slave state. Whereas Peron was shrewd enough to try to keep a balance - a real balance, not real, but, let's say, a superficial balance - between the working class and the ruling class - which is just about what happened here in this country - and paralleled a brand, the particular brand of corporative fascism here in this country.

Important in the understanding of fascism, I believe, is not to confuse the different dimensions of the movement. And, we firstly concede that it is a movement, a thing, like I said, at the opening of monopoly capital. First it's obvious that once monopoly capital started forming, old bourgeoisie democracy began to die, in process. As monopoly capital took over political rule, the political rule of, let's term it, bourgeoisie democracy started diminishing. And at the end of that process, like I said, the culmination of that process, was almost total centralization. So it's not a question of coup, it's not a question of a certain uprising of a small politi-

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cal economic ascendancy destroying the old bourgeoisie, democratic rule - that rule was being destroyed in process right from the inception of monopoly capital. From there I think it's important to understand that the men who assimilated themselves are fascists, the fascist man, who assimilated himself upon the society, the character who pictured himself or projected himself as being eventually that cat mechanating at the center and above society, he knew all along what he was doing. In the first stage, the first dimension, he emphasized the decadence of laissez-faire capitalism; he emphasized the decadence, I suppose, the death of bourgeoisie democracy. He emphasized that. And some of those statements that were made prior to fascist takeover, prior to the fascist sweep in Europe, some of those statements can almost be considered anti-capitalist statements.

Now, that's the first face, the first dimension right there. The second dimension would come after they've seized power, but were yet insecure. That's the spectacular stage that we see on T.V., that we see in the movies, where doors are kicked down and people are being machine-gunned, herded off to camps - like here in this country, put in jails - the Communist Party banned, and forced to write into their constitution a statement that went like this, "Anyone who advocates the violent overthrow of the United States is subject to expulsion from the Party." That's the second, spectacular stage. But the third stage is the stage wherein fascism is a secured thing, corporativism. Can anyone look around the United States and say that this is not a corporative state? With the old guard, the point they attempt to use to persuade us that fascism is not a mature fascism in this country yet is a very simplistic idea, that FDR (Franklin D. Roosevelt) and the New Deal and the thing during the war were actually an attempt to create a welfare state. Nothing could be more ridiculous. Can you believe the United States would today encompass a welfare state. Nothing could be more ridiculous. FDR was a fascist. Roosevelt was a fascist. And the thing that went down during the '30's and '40's was not just similar, but it was exactly the same thing with national differences, national differences, it was the same thing that went down in Italy, Rumania, Spain, Germany, or Argentina, Brazil. It's the same thing. They first attempted to close the economy and use the surplus capital of accumulation to work out problems that should have been worked out long ago right here in the United States. And that's the essence of the whole closed economy idea. Expansion, at that point, wasn't working any more; it wasn't possible because the various Western nations, or advanced industrial states, had expanded to the point where expansion was no longer possible. So they closed their economy and started such projects as the electrification of a railroad in Italy, remember; and the draining of marshes, remember. And then (of course, you don't remember, but you've read about it), in Germany, rearmament was the thing. In the United States, we had T.V.A. (Tennessee Valley Authority), remember - you know, they built the big dam over the Tennessee River and put people to work, make-work. They were re-allocating investments, turning them inward, the closed economy idea. And then, the CCC camps, so forth like that, the same type of projects, the same type of economics, stiff regulations on the import-export thing. To be certain that the balance that existed in a particular nation's favor, the politics and the economics were the same, the exact same, with just slight variations, according to the particular national state of capitalist dilapidation.

Once secure and in power - in the United States that point was reached during the McCarthy era - once secure and in power, it was possible for them then to allow some dissent. It was possible then for them to have a C.P. (Communist Party), just so long as that C.P. didn't have any teeth; it was possible, then, for them to allow us to form what appeared to be an opposition party. But, now, to make my point very clear, a real opposition party did come into existence. The BPP, Black Panther Party. What happened. What happened - they reverted back to the second stage, back to the second dimension. They were kicking doors in and killing people. It's pretty obvious, it's pretty obvious that a mature fascism exists in this country, and it exists in disguise, and the disguise takes the form of all those idiotic, ridiculous statements about a welfare state. If anybody with any intelligence at all can look at the United States and come up with a conclusion that this is a welfare state or any semblance of a welfare state, it's pure chicanery, an evasion of fact, dereliction of duty, and in most cases what they're doing is really cleaning up the fact that they

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didn't oppose capitalism, they didn't oppose hierarchy when they should have opposed them, in the '30's and '40's. They didn't fight then.

You've heard of Ho Chi Minh's line, I think he wrote it while he was in prison, it goes something like this, in part: "When the prison gates blow open, the real dragon will fly out." You've heard that. Panther was a counter-terror. The first act of terror was committed against us. I understand, I've read all the arguments about violence being immature, and violence being non-scientific; but, of course, I disagree. There is a way of approaching violence, scientifically; and, of course, my position, wherein I accept the existence of a mature fascism in this country, means that in essence I understand that the only way one can, an organization or people can move against fascism is with counter-terror. Counter terror. Panther wasn't a terror. Panther was a counter terror. The first act of terror was created against us. I'd like to suggest that the violence perpetrated against us all - not just the Black community, but the poor, period, people, ordinary man in the street, the ordinary man in society - the violence perpetrated is through the institutions, through the fascist institutions, the corporative institutions that were intended to perpetuate their own existence. The violence that they force on us in the maintaining of these institutions, the maintenance of their power and the prestige of their power. There's one way to combat it - counter violence, counter-terror, when we can, where we can.

On top of all this, we have to consider a couple of very, very important points in allowing these men who mechanate at the center and above society to perpetrate their violence, which is much, much more damaging and much more severe than anything that we've ever done. And really, we've done nothing to deserve the violence; and considering that - we have to consider that also, right - let's consider that in taking steps, namely arms, whatever, to stop their violence. I sincerely believe, I stand on the principle, on the fact that in stopping them, and stopping them now, rather than stopping them over the next 50 to 75 years, will save more lives, will save more destruction of minds and of property and of innocent people, human potential.

That's just what happened during World War II. Socialist consciousness was building to the point where it had to be distracted, so they offered foreign war, and it appealed to loyal instinct, patriotic instinct, to divert the people from their real interests. Because, of course, it's easy to understand that in protecting the state, we're protecting the right of the people who own and run the state to continue to own and run the state. It comes right down to protecting hierarchy. In the event of violent, people's war, we're building an infrastructure, the separating of the people's world from the government, from the enemy state. If the corporative powers, the fascist powers saw this thing happening, it's very possible that they would start a war with someone else, and try to appeal to our loyalty instincts. But that will no longer work. Socialist consciousness all around the world has grown now to the point whereas ideas like that are no longer, it's no longer possible to foist ideas like that on people. I believe, I sincerely believe that socialist consciousness around the world has - and in this country, when I say the world I'm including this country too, although they do separate themselves, that includes this country too - I believe the socialist consciousness has grown to the point where we won't go for it a second time. We can see that right now. I think we have something like 30,000 draft resisters right here in San Francisco. Correct? And there's nothing the government can do about it. Nothing whatsoever.

The power of the establishment, the power of the hierarchy depends upon us. They can't do the things that they're doing without some consent from us, some consent. That consent can be extracted with brutality; it can be extracted with propaganda, brands of agit-prop; it can be extracted through appealing to short-term interests, but I don't think it will work this time. We have powerful forces working on our side that won't let it happen again. But to get back to the question of fighting, of resisting, of finally saying no, and meaning it, and getting out in the street, if necessary, if necessary

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getting out in the street and turning tanks inside out with our specialized weapons, ones that we can make right in our basements. I say right on. If we have to do that, we'll do it; we'll stop the streets; we'll bust the bridges; we can't uproot all the pigs, we don't want to - we might want to use them later, after the revolution. We will break down the viaducts and bridges. And, we can stop transportation; we can stop everything, every utility that every city in this country depends upon to maintain order. And as we're doing that, we can rebuild the people's world. We can, we will. Che had ideas about the new world, so did Lumumba, so did Jonathan. Huey's got ideas about the new world. But the pressing problem right now, I believe, is dealing with this one right here. But, in general, what we want, I think, is a world where there won't be any war.

Well, one other thing. My reading of the revolutionary literature of Che, Giap, Huey, Angela - I like to mention them - and Jonathan - they envision a world where it adds up. Our principal concern, their principal concern, our really principal concern right now is with the living and the present. But we do have ideas of the way things should be; and principal among those ideas is that terrorism from any quarter should be acknowledged; and that as long as we have to have administrators, those administrators should be chosen from the people, should have distinguished themselves in some way for the people. They're not administering people; they're not administering our lives, really; actually what they're doing is, as far as I'm concerned, they should be administering things - they can see the big picture, as an individual, and make the ideal feasible, so it will hang together. I would say that each one of the positions should be dependant upon meritorious conduct of duty, and they'd have to be replacable.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

STATE OF THE STRUGGLE

At a year's end, the beginning of a new year, we customarily review the out-going period. Sometimes we are sad, sentimental, nostalgic. The events of the year, coupled with our interpretation of those events decide those feelings. The Black Panther Party uses a fundamental method when we analyze any event. We use a method we call dialectical materialism. For us, this method, when properly applied, lends itself to the best interpretation of things. The past can reveal a trend for the future, or points of no return.

In this issue, therefore, we are re-printing three articles, from the past year's issues of the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, for they represent the essence, the high points of 1971 in the engagement of our on-going struggle for the liberation of all oppressed people, for the progressive transformation of the American society. The dialectical materialist method of analyzing things lets us know that all things come into and go out of being. They are constantly doing this. Some of our older people used to say, "This too shall pass away". The point is that we have learned that the passing away of one thing introduces the coming of another. This is the prime reason for the review: to add to our information about how best to fight and win.

This year will not be the same. We can never re-live last year. We shall not try to project here what the coming year holds. Whatever losses we may suffer this year, let us try to minimize them. We shall always seek victories, even at the lowest levels. Perhaps not this year, or the next, or in our individual life-times shall the great victories come to us. The great victories are certain, nevertheless. Let us review, then, and not be afraid of what is to come. We shall never recover our losses, they are History's. Our victories will re-shape and remould the future, which is forever.

In this light, we can recall the many occurrences this year that may let us know, that may gauge the State of the Struggle for us, if we wish:



COMRADE GEORGE JACKSON became the focal point.

The over-riding events of our struggle took place last year in the prisons, the maximum security camps of the United States. Certainly no other event fell so heavily upon us than the brutal murder by San Quentin Prison guards of the Field Marshal of the Black Panther Party, George Jackson, on August 21st. Comrade George had officially joined the Black Panther Party in 1968, after Huey P. Newton (the leader of our Party) was shot and arrested in Oakland and sent to prison. Prior to that Comrade George had inspired and induced unity among the prisoner class that none before had been able to achieve. The California prisons seemed to literally vanguard the over-all struggle of those inside the U.S. maximum security camps to be liberated. George had been the prime initiator of the progressive, revolutionary prison movement, teaching and educating for eleven years of incarceration. As the Field Marshal of the Black Panther Party, he better organized and developed the active struggle inside and outside the maximum prisons. He became known as one of the Soledad Brothers, having been falsely charged for the murder of a Soledad prison guard in 1970. The Soledad Brothers' trial is still in progress, only they are two now, Fleeta Drumgo and John Clutchette. George's writings reached everywhere, into so many minds, that his death last year signalled a new level of struggle. Around the world, from progressive countries, organizations, individuals, came angry and bitter words, and even firmer dedication and solidarity. We say, of course, therefore, that George Jackson lives!

Only two weeks after George was assassinated, nearly 2,000 men, at the other end of the country, boldly seized control of the Attica State Prison in New York. For nearly five days, they held control, demanding freedom. Many people had different beliefs or understandings as to how or why these heroic men did such a thing. They were simply demanding recognition of their humanity, and held, in exchange, the lives of many guards. On September 13th, the U.S. government, under the direction of Nelson Rockefeller and Richard Nixon, brazenly exposed how little it cared for our humanity. The cost was 42 lives, both prisoners and guards.



DAVID HILLIARD joined the maximum security prisoner class.

Earlier in the year, on June 12th, David Hilliard, Chief of Staff of the Black Panther Party, became, by false conviction, a member of the California prisoner class. Entering into Vacaville Medical Facility, he was shifted to the California Men's Colony

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and later to Folsom Prison. In those six months, he was made to appear before three Disciplinary Board Hearings, once at each institution, each time being charged with a violation of prison rules. With thousands upon thousands demanding his release, David remains incarcerated in Folsom's Adjustment Center.



CHAIRMAN BOBBY SEALE released, after suffering two phony trials.



COMRADE ERICKA HUGGINS released, after two years of false imprisonment.

However, several major political trials, because of the efforts of the people, were resolved last year, in favor of the victims: Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party, and Comrade Ericka Huggins were finally released, ending two hard years of illegal incarceration (in May and June). New Haven Judge Mulvey had been forced to dismiss charges, due to a hung jury and the world-wide cry to Free Bobby and Ericka. All of those who had been in jail in New York, known as the New York 21, were acquitted in May, as were the Harlem 5. In Los Angeles, four members of the Black Panther Party, along with other Black community members, who had been called the L.A. 18, suffered through seven months of trial, only to be partially convicted, partially acquitted and have a hung jury on several charges on December 23rd.



FREE HUEY! It had been four years and three unjust trials.

There was one trial, which came to a close last year, which had served as the impetus for the active, heightened struggle for the freeing of all political prisoners. The trial of Huey P. Newton, leader of the Black Panther Party and Servant of the People, finally came to close after four years, on December 15th. There had been one conviction and two hung juries, on a lesser charge, all stemming from an incident in Oakland, California in October of 1967. Huey P. Newton had, at that time, been shot and arrested and charged with the murder of pig John Frey. The words FREE HUEY, from that moment, had spurred the entire country to understand the meaning of the necessity to release all prisoners, to free ourselves.



BROTHER RUCHELL MAGEE still faces trial without the right to represent himself.

Many trials are on-going, though they came to their peaks last year. One is the case of Brother Ruchell Magee and Sister Angela Davis, who have both been falsely charged with conspiracy to commit murder, evolving from the August 7th (1970) incident in Marin County (California). There, Brothers Jonathan Jackson, William Christmas and James McClain, three beautiful revolutionary Brothers, had been slaughtered by police bullets, along with a local judge, Harold Haley. Last year, their trials were severed, Brother Ruchell Magee was denied proper attorney representation, and Angela was slated to begin trial in the most

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SISTER ANGELA forced to face trial in the most racist county in California.

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racist county in California. Also, there were charges levelled against many already incarcerated, exemplifying the State's intensified efforts to destroy the desire of the prisoner to be free. There were seven Brothers at Soledad Prison who had been falsely charged with the murder of a guard there. In 1971, the charges were quietly, one-by-one, dropped against all of them. However, most of them remain incarcerated in the adjustment centers of San Quentin and Folsom.

With so much overt repression of the prisoner class, it was only natural that 1971 would bring about a more organized move on the part of the prisoners to be free. In February of 1971, in one of the main centers of prison repression, San Quentin Prison, a Branch of the Black Panther Party opened. From there, all across the country, in camp after camp, prisoners organized in the same manner. Branches of the Black Panther Party opened up in nearly every major maximum security prison in the country, not only proving (as Comrade George Jackson would say) that the concentration camp technique is not working, but that the prisoners of both the maximum and minimum communities are more firmly, and in a more organized manner, uniting. This is most definitely a progressive step. All across the country, prisoners were seizing control of institutions, organized and ready to fight with what they had: not only at Attica, but at Rahway Prison in New Jersey; at Angola Prison in Louisiana; at New Orleans' Parish Prison; at the Baltimore City Jail; at Alderson Women's Prison in West Virginia; etc. In 1971, more than any other year, the organized move to free all political prisoners was strengthened and heightened.

The State, the pigs, left one major lasting memory from last year which will probably run its course this year. Besides murdering Comrade George Jackson, California prison "authorities" engineered a subsequent move to lead in prison repression. Six Comrades at San Quentin were charged with the State's crimes. Comrades Johnny Spain, Hugo Pinell, Fleeta Drumgo, Willie Tate, Luis Talamantez and David Johnson were summarily falsely charged with conspiracy to commit murder (five counts, three guards and two inmate trustees) and other connected charges stemming from events inside the adjustment center of San Quentin Prsion on the day guards there murdered Field Marshal George Jackson.

The unity between those outside and those inside the maximum security prisons was certainly strengthened and took tremendously progressive steps. The unity and solidarity among oppressed peoples is the key to our salvation. Therefore, the unfortunate events surrounding the defection from the Black Panther Party (in February) of the former Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver, served to temporarily disrupt that unity. However, from that event came many positive results. There was the building up, as never before, of the Black Panther Party sponsored People's Survival Programs, Free Shoes, Free Breakfasts, Free Food, Free Commissary for Prisoners and Bussing to Prisons Programs, Free Health Clinics, Free Clothing, etc. These survival programs served to not only meet our basic needs, but to unify our efforts to survive while struggling for complete liberation.

In this light, a new method of unifying our community and aiding in our survival was implemented. After taking a careful re-analysis of the so-called Black Capitalist, the Black Panther Party concluded that at this point in history there is no such thing as a Black Capitalist. We realized that Black people are not in any small way in control of the U.S. economy. This puts us all into a fundamental position, oppressed, on a variety of levels. We discovered that the division in our community between those who have a little and those who have nearly nothing is not a fundamental contradiction. The Black who was able to realize a minimum of success within the capitalist structure was recognized as still at the mercy and whim of the white, bourgeois super-structure. Therefore, we thought to begin to build a needed unity in our community around that common factor.

We began to request Black businessmen, whose chief market is in

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The Survival Programs, advanced in 1971, united the Black Community around progressive ideas more than ever before.

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We initiated the boycott to remind the Black businessman that without the community, HE cannot survive.

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the Black community, and who suffer, like all other community members, the racism and oppression of the power structure, to help in the survival of the entire community. We viewed this as working in the interest of all. One of the first businessmen approached, Bill Boyette (Oakland, California), refused to make such a commitment, on a regular basis. We initiated, therefore, a boycott of his two liquor stores, to remind him that without the community he cannot survive. This new concept has spread across the country, bringing a concrete realization of unity around progressive ideas that the Black community has heretofore not been able to achieve. Other Black businessmen, seeing the example, have volunteered contributions, and the survival of our people and the unity among our people have become more secured.

Solidarity among all oppressed peoples in the world was greatly manifested last year in the extension of the new doctrine of revolutionary intercommunalism in action, in practice. In October, Huey P. Newton, the leader of the Black Panther Party and Servant of the People, travelled to the People's Republic of China in an effort to safeguard world peace and solidify the solidarity of oppressed peoples.

For the first time since the liberation of China (in 1949), an official of the U.S. government last year decided to ask to be allowed into China, for an official visit. Richard M. Nixon, President of the government of the United States, requested this permission in the summer of last year. The introduction to such a move had come prior to that, when a U.S. Ping-Pong team entered the People's Republic of China. The whole issue of China was forefront in the events of the year. The Chinese government represents the largest single population in the world and is a truly revolutionary government. Nixon's intended visit was viewed by some as the foresaking of revolutionary principles by the Chinese. This is far from true, for the Chinese have no intention of forfeiting principles or hard-won liberation. This became even clearer when in October (just after Huey P. Newton's return from China) the People's Republic of China was rightfully seated in the United Nations, replacing the U.S.-backed, reactionary government of China's Province of Taiwan, as the Chinese people's U.N. representative. The opening statement by the Chief of the Delegation, Chiao Kuan-Hua, stressed the fact that the trend in the world today is revolution.



Chief Delegate CHIAO KUAN-HUA expressed the Chinese People's accurate understanding that Revolution is the main trend in the world today.

Nixon maintained his old ways also, last year, by introducing new words to, this time, cover up his policy of re-capturing absolute control of the economy to a few hands under the illusive words of "Price Freeze". Slashing and cutting wages, threatening and bargaining, along with imposing heavy taxes on foreign imports, blew the whistle on the weakness in the present State of the government's economy. Not only did Nixon use these tactics to save his crumbling economy, he also joined with Reagan in California and Rockefeller in New York to cut back welfare benefits for many mothers. The Tennessee State Legislature, for example (among others) did their job of supporting this drive to starve the oppressed [illegible] loyalty to the oppressive government by offering a Sterilization Bill. This Bill proposed to forcibly deny mothers of "illegitimate" children the right to bear children, or starve as punishment, through losing welfare payments.

Children seemed to generally, more particularly suffer under the government's designs to maintain power in 1971. In Memphis, Tennessee, for example, there was the brutal murder of 17-year old Elton Hayes, who was beaten to death by over 20 local pigs; in Monrovia, California, 13-year old Mark Allen was murdered by pigs right in the local police station, which murder was reported as death by suicidal hanging; and, there was 16-year Larry Blaylock in New York, shot to death by police, for the alleged stealing of a car, though he was unarmed.

Police murders took a more sophisticated turn in 1971, as it had become obvious that blatant acts were being more and more vigorously opposed by the people. These murders served not only to eliminate those who struggle daily to overthrow oppression, but to confuse the masses of people, the public, as to why or how such acts were carried out. Our unity was being opposed in every way. The most significant of these assassinations was the brutal and bizarre murder of Comrade Samuel Napier on April 17th. Comrade Sam, the Circulation Manager of the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, was found in the Corona, New York newspaper distribution office of our Party, having been beaten, tied to a chair and shot to death. The building in which he was found had been burned beyond repair. The attempt to kill Black Panther Party members last year was coordinated with attempts to destroy the newspaper and divide the Black community.



The murder of COMRADE SAM NAPIER by police was committed to not only kill one more Panther, but to confuse and divide the Black community.



Young BROTHERS ELTON HAYES, MARK ALLEN and LARRY BLAYLOCK were 1971's examples of blatant police murders of our youth. How many more youth they killed in secret, in their genocidal plan, cannot be known.

No where, however, does the U.S. commit more brutal and vicious murders than where it continued to do so in its aggressive war against the Vietnamese People. The U.S. Army and other agencies have killed and continue to murder thousands of innocent Vietnamese people. However, even the government's clever way of lying did not conceal its viciousness when Lt. William Calley was convicted for crimes against the Vietnamese people, and then exonerated by the personal, Presidential order of Richard Nixon. While Calley went free, Black G.I.'s who had refused to participate in Nixon's war were being persecuted. Private Billy Smith (U.S. Army) was the prime example of their chicanery. Charged last year with the murder by "fragging" (use of fragmentation grenades as a weapon against officers), he became the first G.I. ever brought to trial inside the U.S. for such an incident. The contradiction between Nixon's ability to excuse a Calley for mass murder of innocent people and persecute a Billy Smith for refusing to participate in such crimes became a strong indication of not only the racism inside the U.S. armed forces, but of the real support and direction Nixon, et al., give to the murder of innocent, oppressed peoples, when it suits their needs.



The electric chair for BROTHER BILLY SMITH; an apartment for Calley.

The ridiculousness of the entire war in Vietnam became more evident when last year's so-called elections took place in Saigon. The alleged purpose of the entering of the U.S. government agenices and forces onto

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The elections in Saigon last year made the thousands of murders of Vietnamese people by the U.S. even more horrendous.

STATE OF THE STRUGGLE

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Vietnamese soil was reportedly to see to it that "democratic" elections could be held in South Vietnam without interference from the "communist North". Last year's phony election in which Thieu ran alone (and naturally won) proved and exposed again the lying nature of the U.S. government. The war which was initiated by the U.S. to supposedly protect the rights of the Vietnamese people continues, while there is no semblance of democratic rights even visible in the U.S.-financed government of the South.



The People of Cairo being confronted by new Police Commissioner, Dale (far right, with shot-gun)

The U. S. wars of aggression heightened, however, inside its own territorial boundaries. In Wilmington, North Carolina, thousands of non-paid, government-backed, white racist vigilantes have been invading the Black community there, shooting arbitrarily at any and every Black person. Like the Vietnamese people, the Black community of Wilmington has been fighting back for its survival and freedom. In Cairo, Illinois, the Black community has been and still is being devastated daily by racist bullets, supported by the U.S. government. In Cairo, also, however, the people are arming for the defense of their lives, homes and just rights.

The war-like nature of the U.S. was exposed everywhere in 1971. One of the most overt acts was the unconcerned experiment with hydrogen bomb blasts in November. The Cannikin warhead that set off a five-megaton blast on the island of Amchitka by the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission belied the U.S. pretense of peaceful intentions toward the world's peoples. The blast not only came at a time when China was just entering the U.N., but it was done despite the pleas of peace-loving peoples of its immediate dangers. The blast could still set off massive earthquake and tidal wave, not to mention the blatant stockpiling of more devastating weapons of war while talking of peace.

While the U.S. government daily plots to destroy life or maintain oppression, and thereby, its position over the majority of the world's peoples, the Black Panther Party is attempting to short-stop such genoci-

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With an on-going war in Vietnam and the "test" of a five-megaton bomb, last year, the U.S. still claims to seek world peace.

STATE OF THE STRUGGLE



While the U.S. government daily plots to destroy life or maintain oppression, the Black Panther Party is attempting to short-stop such genocidal plans.



For years the government has given full support to foundations researching cures for diseases that mostly affect Euro-Americans, while knowing about sickle-cell anemia.

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dal plans. Last year, we initiated a major campaign against Sickle Cell Anemia, a blood disease that primarily affects Black people. For years the government has given full support to foundations researching cures for diseases that mostly affect Euro - Americans, while knowing about sickle cell anemia. Since our first mention of this disease (in April), many organizations and individuals have developed foundations whose stated purpose is to combat and cure sickle cell anemia. No cure has yet been found, but we are sure that this initiation of such a campaign will inevitably lead to not only the cure, but the prevention of the disease.

Not only does the Black Panther Party emphasize the survival of the people to the point of transformation, but we naturally look beyond that. Our liberation is guaranteed. It may not be realized by those of us who fight now. However, we wish to create conditions for the continued survival and life of our people, all oppressed people. It was for this purpose that 1971 ushered in a righteous alternative to the racist/fascist education our youth presently receive in government-controlled schools. Early in the year, we advanced the concept, in practice, of a youth institute. The first such institute, located in Oakland, California, is the Samuel Napier Intercommunal Youth Institute, named after our slain Comrade (an end to one thing; an introduction of another). The school is free, though limited by our ability to accept as many as we'd like. There, at the institute, children from about ages three to fourteen are fed, clothed, housed and educated. They are involved in a complete educational experience, learning the truth about their slave past, their true role in the present -day society, as well as math, science, English, foreign language, etc., courses.

We have very often designated, at the beginning of each year, a particular plan or program for the coming year. Last year, for example, we said was the Year of the Youth. However, we will not attempt to predict or calculate the events of the next year. We know that each future year will be for our youth, for in them is our future. They are our hope for a newer and better world. The year, the world is theirs. We will continue to struggle to make that so.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



They are our hope for a newer and better world. The coming year, the world is theirs.

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PEOPLE'S PETITION

FOR IMMEDIATE PAROLE OF BROTHER DAVID HILLIARD FROM THE CALIFORNIA PRISON SYSTEM OR AN APPEAL BAIL BOND WITH A RETRIAL JURY OF HIS PEER-GROUP.

WE THE PEOPLE, RESIDENTS OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY, IN THE SPIRIT OF REVOLUTIONARY INTERCOMMUNALISM, DO HEREBY REDRESS OUR GRIEVANCE AND PETITION THE COURTS OF AMERICA AND THE CALIFORNIA STATE GOVERNMENT AND PAROLE BOARD: THAT DAVID HILLIARD BE RELEASED FROM HIS PRISON INCARCERATION IN THE CALIFORNIA PENAL SYSTEM TO THE PEOPLE OF OUR COMMUNITIES ON PAROLE OR AN APPEAL BAIL BOND.

BROTHER DAVID HILLIARD, POLITICAL PRISONER AND CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, WAS IN FACT WRONGFULLY CONVICTED ON FALSE CHARGES BY A PREDOMINATELY WHITE RACIST JURY, AS ALL MEMBERS OF THE OAKLAND BLACK COMMUNITY WERE SYSTEMATICALLY ELIMINATED FROM THE JURY SELECTION PROCESS IN HIS TRIAL.

IN LIGHT OF THESE FACTS, WE THE UNDERSIGNED, THEREFORE PETITION THAT DAVID HILLIARD BE GRANTED HIS HUMAN AND CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS, THAT IS, PAROLE FROM PRISON OR AN APPEAL BAIL BOND BY THE AMERICAN COURTS PENDING APPEAL OF HIS CASE BEFORE HIGHER COURTS, AND THAT HIS RETRIAL JURY BE OF HIS PEERS, A TRUE REPRESENTATION OF A CROSS SECTION OF THE COMMUNITY.

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RETURN ALL PETITIONS TO BLACK PANTHER PARTY CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS
1048 PERALTA STREET OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA 9460

MASSACRE AT ATTICA



Nixon, Rockefeller and Oswald wanted a peaceful solution.



"We are MEN. We are not beasts."

One of the most brutal atrocities of the Nixon-Rockefeller Regime during this past year in the U.S. was, of course, the Massacre at Attica State Prison, in Attica, New York, on September 13, 1971. People around the world recoiled in shock and anger at this wholesale slaughter of 42 prisoners and guards and the wounding of countless others by Nixon-Rockefeller directed State Troops.

Afterward, the State tried to hide its murderous acts by exhuming the bodies of the murdered guards. This was done in hopes of placing the blame on other victims - the prisoners. Even this old divide-and-conquer tactic failed. The families of the slain guards knew that the same bullets that had riddled the bodies of the prisoners had taken the lives of the guards. The State also tried to hide the fact that Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party, had tried to carry out the negotiations in behalf of the prisoners and that he had been barred from re-entering the prison on the very day of the Massacre. In a People's Tribunal in October, the People exposed the facts about this, as well as other lies the state had told. The State even employed strong-arm tactics in attempts to make all those that were involved conform to the State's story. The State failed, there, too, however. People saw through the smokescreen and they recognized the prisoners' rightful and peaceful bid for freedom.

The State's violence at Attica awakened many people. For many, more clearly than ever before, the barbarous cruelty, the injustice of the American Prison System was revealed. Along with this new insight came a rise in the level of consciousness and concern among the people in the community for all prisoners. The spirit and the idea of Freedom for All was not quelled at Attica. If anything, it sparked a larger movement, a stronger resolve on the part of the people and a more concentreated effort to transform this inhuman system into one where bars and chains, economic slavery and racism are merely part of the history of a dark past.

In the September 18, 1971, issue of the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, the following article was printed. Perhaps a review of these events would give us a frame of reference for the continuation and progression of our struggle:

They say violence erupted on Thursday, September 9th, at Attica State Prison in New York, when nearly 2,000 men wrested control of the facility from the hands of State officials and prison administrators. With this as a starting point and basis for "action", Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York and U.S. President Richard M. Nixon ordered and had implemented the outright murder, the massacre of at least 50 persons, four days later. Violence did not erupt at Attica on September 9th. The brutal beatings, the isolations cells, the secret murders, the overall inhumane conditions perpetrated by the prison administration, the State and Federal governments has existed for some time. For one group of men - the State - to claim the right to kill or otherwise destroy the lives of other men - the inmates - is certainly violence in the extreme.

The seizure of the Attica State prison by those it held by force, by the inmates there, was a human response to the violence and suffering the brothers had long endured. When in a quick and organized, united move those brothers declared in action that they would take authority over their lives, they stated that by capturing control of the prison and arresting approximately 38 of the institution's guards, they wished to make it clear that they no longer wished to be confined like animals, nor treated like animals. Their aim was not to control the prison to the degree where they would confine others, confine those who had dealt them such terrible blows, but to simply go free, live like human beings, outside the prison walls - and for those who would, to even leave the country to go to one where they could be treated and respond to others as human beings. Their goal was not to take any lives, but to save lives - their own. The capturing of guards was a move to exchange lives - theirs for the guards' - for they presumed that America placed value on human lives - especially when those lives were of people who upheld and enforced the very laws which are the foundation of the "Democracy".

Their declaration made all of this distinctly clear: "The entire incident that has erupted here at Attica is not a result of the dastardly bushwhacking of the two prisoners on September 8, 1971, but of the unmitigated oppression wrought by the racist administrative network of this prison throughout the years.

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MASSACRE AT ATTICA

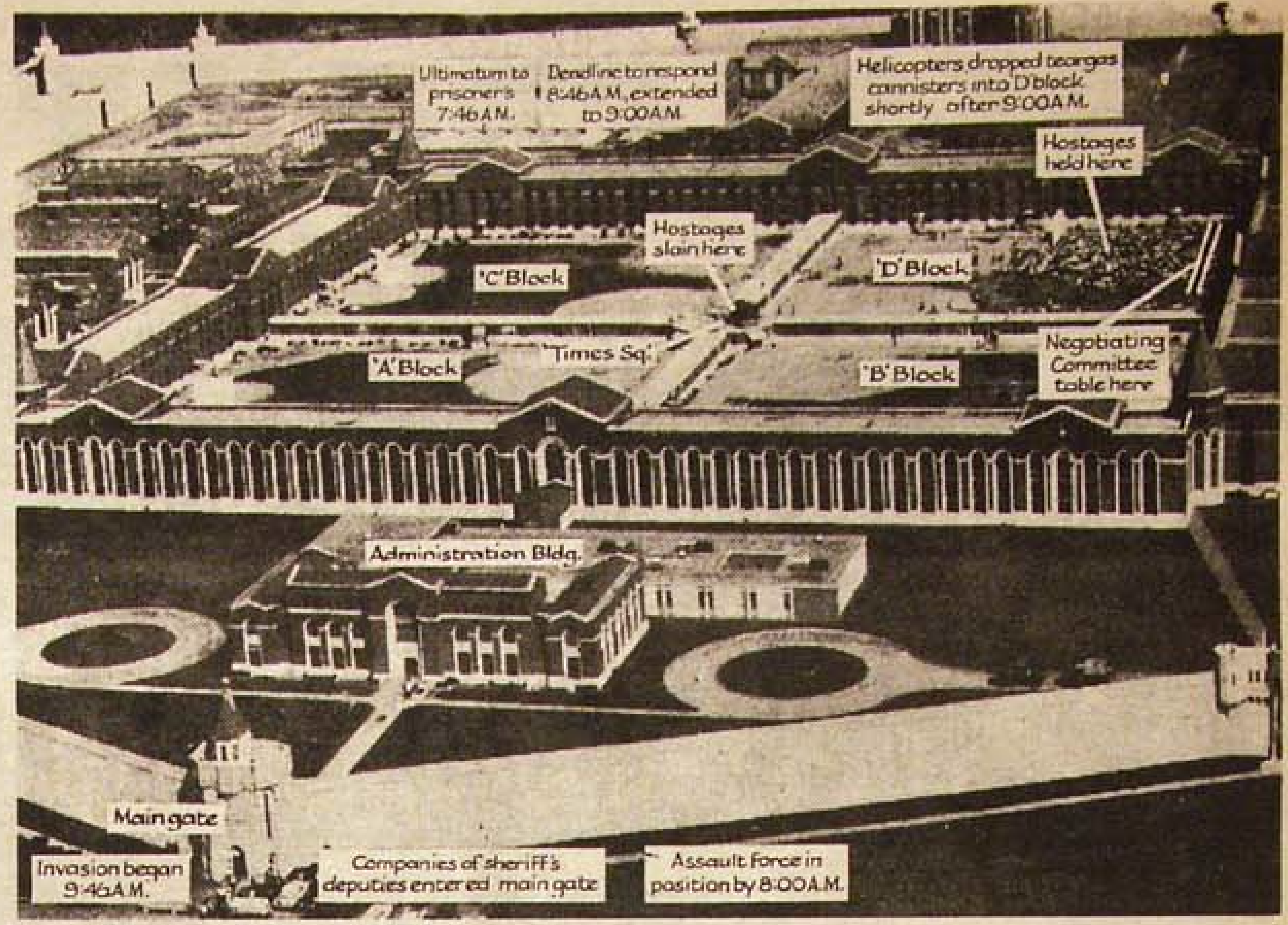
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"We are MEN. We are not beasts and we do not intend to be beaten or driven as such. We will not compromise on any terms, except those terms that are agreeable to us.

"We want complete amnesty - freedom from all or any physical, mental or legal reprisals. We want - now - speedy and safe transportation out of confinement to a non-imperialistic country. We demand that the federal government intervene so that we will be under direct federal jurisdiction. We want the government and the judiciary, namely Constance B. Motley, to guarantee that there will be no reprisals. And we want all facets of the media to articulate this."

During that first day, the brothers inside had taken complete control of the prison; but as armed police re-inforcements moved in, they were pushed back to be primarily concentrated in one cell Block - D. Later on in the day, a counter-attack was launched by the heroic inmates, who had only their hands and clubs; but this move was soon quelled by the submachine guns, rifles with telescopic sights and tear gas grenade launchers of police.

As things became more settled, the brothers began establishing a base of operation on the D-Block yard. Tents were set up for living quarters and the arrested guards were situated; also, an area was cleared for discussion and communication with news media and the group of outside negotiators for whom the inmates had called. When news of the uprising came to the Black Panther Party as well as a call from New York to have Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, come to Attica as a key negotiator, the Central Committee of our Party issued the following statement: "The Central Headquarters of the Black Panther Party was contacted September 10, 1971, by the office of New York State Assemblyman, Arthur Eve, which delivered a message from 1,280 of our Brothers who are political prisoners at the Attica State Prison in Attica, New York. The message from the political prisoners is that Huey P. Newton, of the Black Panther Party, Servant of the People, must, in



"PRISON - WHERE IS THY VICTORY?"

fact, be a key negotiator in behalf of our incarcerated Brothers and their 27 demands for better prison conditions.

"The said prison guards, called hostages, have actually, in reality been placed under arrest by the 1,280 prisoners, who are rightfully redressing their grievances concerning the harassing, brutal and inhuman treatment to which they are constantly subjected.

"The New York State Prison Commissioner, the courts, and the federal and state governments' prosecutors have deliberately allowed the creation and maintenance of the oppressive and atrocious conditions to which our Attica prison Brothers are subjected. Also, the state has for too many years willfully and maliciously ignored the legal and lawful requests and redresses of grievances from the prisoners.

"Some 35 prison guards are under arrest; and the state wants those arrested guards to be bailed out, on the promise of the courts and prison commissioner that there will be no reprisals if the arrested guards are released.

"The U.S. District court order, however, that there will be no reprisals, is quite fallacious and irrelevant on its face, when the state commissioner, Russell Oswald, adds that our prison Brothers will face other criminal charges. To face more criminal charges means, in fact, nothing else other than out-right reprisals against our incarcerated Brothers. The state, the commissioner (Russell G. Oswald), the courts and prosecutors are acting in extreme bad faith by not going forth and obtaining an official New York State and court-ordered amnesty; Amnesty that there will be no reprisals whatsoever, in the form of criminal charges or otherwise. This is the first thing that must be done to start negotiations of the prisoners' 27 demands. This is the only bail the arrested guards can have, from the analysis of the Black Panther Party.

"The Attica Prison Move, composed of political prisoners and the lives of 35 arrested police guards in the hands of the prisoners, is a tactical move towards going forward to show the world's community people how to begin to end oppression and wretched, unjust prison incarceration."

The list of demands, summarily, on a general basis, requesting decent prison conditions, was read, with the chief demand being emphasized repeatedly. Essentially, the brothers wanted freedom, not only for themselves, but really all political prisoners; particularly they cried the demand to free David Hilliard - Chief of Staff of the Black Panther Party - free Romaine "Chip" Fitzgerald, Angela Davis, Ruchell Magee, the remaining Soledad Brothers. They no longer wished to be animalistically confined; they wanted freedom - immediately. In exchange for their freedom, they made it clear, they would release the arrested guards. The guards held by them were in no danger as long as negotiating could continue, to culminate in the satisfaction of the brothers. This was simply a move made to get a ticket to ride to the outside. The treatment of the guards, completely contradictory to Russell Oswald's (State Prison Correctional Commissioner) lies about the beastly actions of the brothers in regard to treatment of the guards, was human and kind. The guards themselves stated this - then, as now, after the fact, when no present "threat" exists.

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CHAIRMAN BOBBY SEALE
After a brief first visit, he was never allowed in again.

MASSACRE AT ATTICA

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One guard, Phillip Watkins, who came out after the prison was re-captured by attack, said that he was given cigarettes when there were few, medical attention when needed, and, "When they ate hot meals, we had hot meals; when they had sandwiches, so did we; we had mattresses - but they didn't." The brothers were preserving, protecting life, even under the unreasonable circumstances of Oswald's instructed refusal to guarantee no reprisals or to talk of amnesty, or freedom from confinement. The brothers even implored the State, the government of the country to consider all the lives - of both inmates and guards. On September 11th, the brothers issued this statement in this regard: "We, the People, hereby present to the Administration officials of Attica Correctional Facility: That we are trying to be and act humane to the officers, as best we can under the existing, unmitigating circumstances. We have sent you four (4) of your officers out to the hospital for medical attention.

"Henceforth, we demand that you allow a doctor to enter this prison to attend to the medical needs of both the officers and inmates. If it is found that it is necessary to remove an officer for medical reasons, we demand a healthy officer in return."

Early on Saturday evening (September 11th), at the brothers' request, Chairman Bobby Seale arrived at the prison, representing the Central Committee of the Black Panther Party. After a short and overwhelmingly warm meeting with the brothers, he left the prison with the promise he would return after consultation with the Party Central Committee regarding the negotiative guidance the Party could offer. The next morning, Chairman Bobby was "greeted" at the prison gate by Oswald, who demanded the Chairman discuss with him his agreements with the brothers. He demanded and tried to invoke the Chairman's agreement that the Party would compromise, or otherwise betray the brothers. When Chairman Bobby emphatically stated he would compromise neither their demands, nor the lives of the beautiful brothers inside and repeatedly reminded Oswald that the inmates had promised no harm would come to the guards until the negotiating reached an impasse - which was all pending his return - Oswald absolutely denied the Chairman reentry to the prison.

The lives of the inmates was certainly of no concern to Oswald and his chieftains, Rockefeller and Nixon; but as would later shock most Americans, neither were the lives of the guards, who were gunned down, like the inmates, by police bullets. The guards themselves, along with the inmates, implored the State to use discretion and to listen to the inmates' reasonable demands, or that, in the words of one guard, "My Lai was only one-hundred-or-so-odd men; we're going to end up with 1,500 men (dead) here, if things don't go right." Another guard inside, one day before the vicious police attack, spoke words expressing the feelings of the other guards inside. Sergeant Edward T. Cunningham, a 52-year old WW II Army Sgt. with a purple heart and bronze star, said amnesty was the only salvation: "Anything short of this is just as good as dropping dead." The next day, he too was murdered by police bullets. That was the answer the State gave him for his understanding plea.

While the vast majority of people were more concerned with saving life than face, Nelson Rockefeller and Richard Nixon and Oswald plotted the vicious course that would leave over 50 dead at Attica. When importuned that he be present to aid in a peaceful settlement of the issues, Rockefeller refused to come, saying, "I am in full support of the Commissioner's actions and I will continue to help, in direct communication with him, in his untiring efforts to achieve a 'peaceful' solution."

And, while human beings were joining together in response to the human cries of the inmates, Nixon was consulting with Rockefeller, with Oswald, and so on, delivering the death orders. As well as guards and inmates coming to understand something of the nature of each other, the brothers inside were breaking all the treacherously divisionary, phoney barriers that have separated races of people in America for so long, in common understanding of the State's oppression and the right of all human beings to be free. One of the white inmates, Blease Montgomery, born and raised in the small, Southern town of Hamlet, North Carolina, spoke clearly to this, as, in his native drawl he said, "Man, there's people in here we treated like dogs down home...but, I want everyone to know we gon' stick together, we gon' get what we want, or we gon' die together...I've learned so much that if I get out of this, I want a plane ticket out of this country."

The horrendous end to this magnificent strike for freedom and human dignity came on September 13, 1971, with police helicopters firing tear gas onto the yard full of people, and then the invasion of the 1,700 police troops, armed with the machine guns, the rifles and the pistols. No person on the yard was safe from the invaders. Oswald had lied - he had not kept his promise of more time to discuss his ultimatum to those inside to restore "order" and to give up the "hostages"; and he

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MASSACRE AT ATTICA



OSWALD: "My main concern was with the safety of the hostages..."; and later, "...I'd do it again."

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-lied again - when he said the very reason he carried out his instruction to attack was because the brothers inside had been seen, by helicopter, slitting the throats of eight guards (later that figure was changed by Oswald's assistant, Houlihan, to two guards).

But the whitewash this time was unsuccessful. For although the people, particularly Black people who know the lying, vicious, racist nature of the power structure, did not believe Rockefeller's and Oswald's lies, the cold and concrete evidence of murder, of the massacre came in the corner's report. State officials didn't have to lie about the brothers in there; they felt no one would care. They admitted readily to those murders. But when Monroe County (New York) Medical Examiner, John F. Edland, gave his report regarding the condition of the bodies of the guards, the lies and the fact of out-right murder on the part of the State could not be denied. Dr. Edland, at a press conference, told the American people that no guard's throat had been slit, "They all died of gunshot wounds." Many could not believe it, until he elaborated even further: Of the condition of the guards' bodies, he said, "Some were shot once, some as many as five, ten, twelve times... with two types of missles, buckshot and large calibre missles." He went on and contradicted Houlihan's suggestion, after the first lie was exposed, that possibly the inmates' zip guns could have been used to kill the guards, and said emphatically, "No". In answer to the original statement that the guards were killed prior to the attack and that the rigor mortis which had set into their bodies proved this, Dr. Edland stated, "All died yesterday morning (September 13th)." Regarding a report of castration of one inmate (said to indicate the inmates had acted like the U.S. Army animals who massacred the people of My Lai), Edland said, "There is no evidence of that." In summary, as though responding to the potential threats he may receive from the State for his disclosures, Dr. Edland stated: "I am my own man and I call things as I see them. All I know is I have 27 bodies in my office which is more than I ever want to see again in one day...I'm used to not finding what people tell me I will find."



DR. JOHN F. EDLAND: "I am my own man. I call things as I see them."

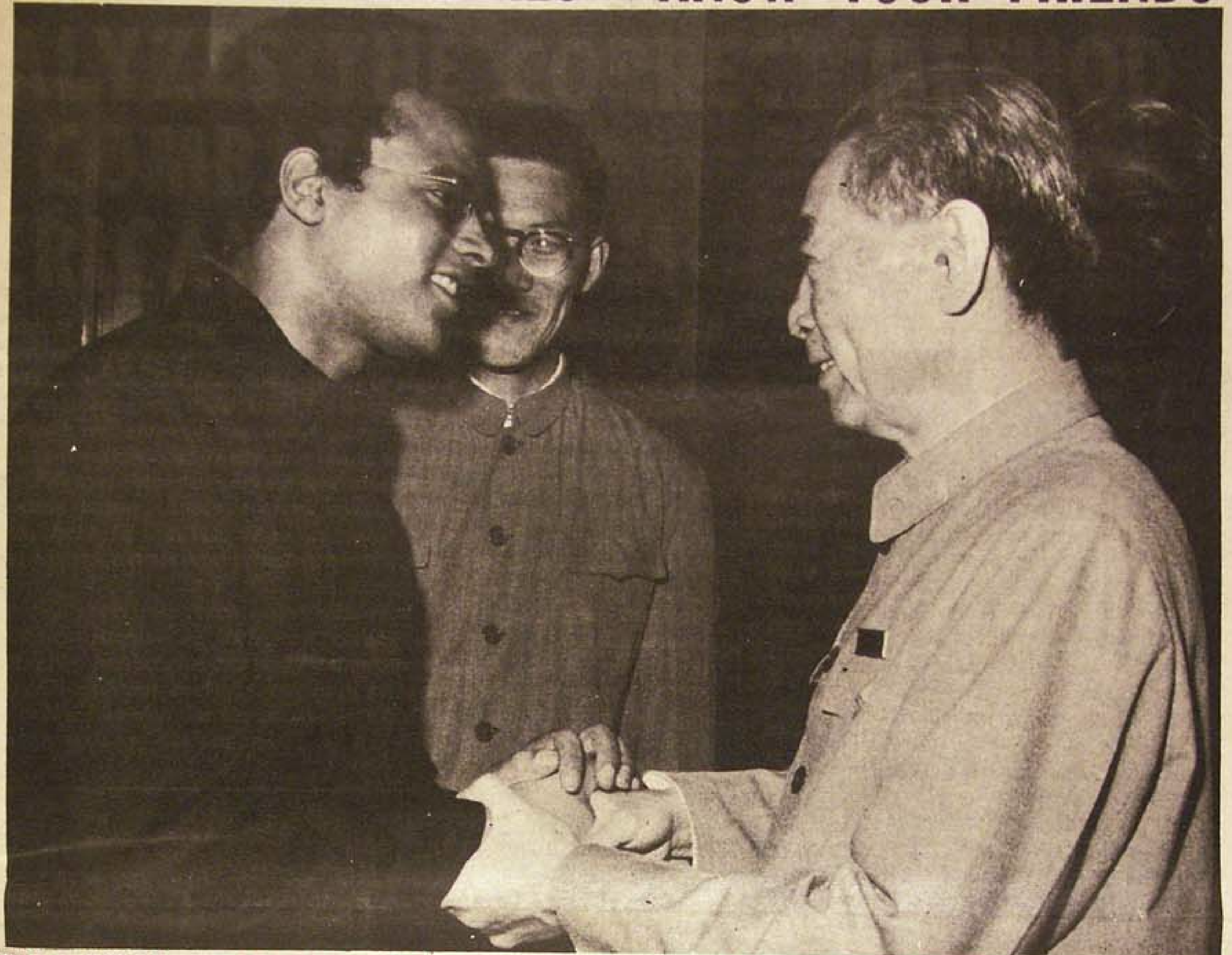
Let us briefly speak, then, of what our beautiful brothers incarcerated at the Attica State Prison have dramatically demonstrated. Their heroic move, singly, brought into a cold and harsh light the bitter reality that is America. It is them we must praise. They sealed a bond of love among many who otherwise may have never known each other. Black people across the U.S. and oppressed people in the many communities of the world shall not ask why, nor seek to find underlying secrets that may, through lengthy investigation and discussion, reveal what "really" took place at Attica on September 13th. We shall leave that to the liberal intellectuals, the more refined racists, the undercover fascists, the defenders of the bourgeoisie, the oppressors themselves to discuss and to disect. Their stories shall be junked in our history. We shall say and know that a massacre occurred at Attica. A massacre of our heroic brothers, whose actions of supreme courage on those few days made men of us all. We shall not forget. We shall bury them, but not forget. For their individual lives, the men at Attica, and certainly their goals were so much a part of our lives. our very existence that it was our blood that was painfully shed; so much a part of us all that no mother or father or sister or brother of any of the men at Attica shall know a pain as great as ours. But, we will not be defeated - we are not defeated. We will surely win. For, their deaths were victories, because they died with glory and dignity - as men. There will be songs and poems and writings and books and words said for the men at Attica. But, in their names, and the thousands before them, and the painfully countless number that shall surely follow, there shall be People's Victory.

As for now, in the unknown names of our fallen soldiers at Attica, we re-dedicate ourselves, our lives, reaffirm our commitment to each other to the long and arduous struggle that shall lead us to that glorious victory.

In the words of one of our beautiful brothers, when asked his name, let each of us say, "I am Attica- I am all of us."

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

KNOW YOUR ENEMIES KNOW YOUR FRIENDS



HUEY P. NEWTON, SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE, WITH PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

During the negotiations at Attica (in the days prior to the Massacre), the Black Panther Party was represented by Chairman Bobby Seale (at the prisoners' request).

When the Brothers at Attica made their peaceful bid for freedom, they were met with the guns and violent aggression of the Nixon-Rockefeller Regime. This has been the typical response of this regime to all human, peace-loving and non-aggressive peoples.

Therefore, during October, a visit to the People's Republic of China was made by Huey P. Newton, leader of the Black Panther Party and Servant of the People, along with Elaine Brown, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, and Comrade Robert Bay, in which the opportunity was taken to present the following petition to the Chinese People, in behalf of the oppressed peoples of the rest of the world:

SO LET IT BE HEARD:

A short time ago, the prisoners at Attica requested the Black Panther Party to negotiate with Nixon, Rockefeller and Oswald for their freedom. The Black Panther Party at this time asks Chairman Mao Tsetung of the People's Republic of China to negotiate with Prison Warden Nixon for the freedom of the oppressed peoples of the world.

We recognize that the criminal activities of trigger-happy Nixon show clearly that he has no respect for peaceful negotiation, when the victim is divided and weak. He not only killed the prisoners at Attica, but he also murdered his exploited workers, the prison guards. Although most of the prisoners at Attica are Black and all the guards ard white, Nixon killed regardless of color, because they were all victims. When the oppressed people of the world ask for negotiation, such as the Vietnamese people, Prison Warden Nixon shows again he has no respect for the people nor his agents, the U.S. Military. HE LEAVES NO ALTERNATIVE BUT VIOLENT, ARMED RESISTANCE. He is responsible for the murder of Vietnamese people and the deaths of the U.S. soldiers. Both the Vietnamese People and the U.S. soldiers are victims of the reactionary Nixon regime. This is why we approached Chairman Mao Tsetung, because we know of his peace-and freedom-loving nature. There can be no peace without freedom.

We are asking all the agents of Prison Warden Nixon (whom he despises) to join forces with the victims of the world: The U.S. soldiers to join forces with the victimized Vietnamese People; the guards and the families of the deceased guards at Attica and the guards of the State prisons across the U.S. to join forces with the victimized inmates.

It is clear that Mr. Nixon is trigger-happy and could trigger off World War III. And because we knew of his impending visit to the People's Republic of China, we asked the Chinese People to receive us first, so that we might ask the peace-and freedom - loving Chairman Mao Tsetung to be the chief negotiator to Mr. Nixon for the peace and freedom of the oppressed peoples of the world. And this is why we ask for unity of all the victims against the common enemy, the Nixon - Rockefeller regime.

SO LET IT BE DONE

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

All Power to the People

